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Sir Patrick ~~HEAL~~ (United Kingdom). I must begin by saying that in the

view of my Government this is one of the most serious situations ever brought before the Security Council. The problem is urgent, and the consequences of the events now before us are incalculable. We ~~must~~ <sup>DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1/030/18</sup> ~~must~~ <sup>and</sup> with clarity see the true facts of the situation. We must ~~avoid clichés and~~ <sup>DATE 1/4/88</sup> ~~we must not be~~ deceived by catchwords.

What in fact is happening is this: by a deliberate and deceitful act of provocation, the Soviet Union is introducing into the Western Hemisphere nuclear missiles of mass destruction. This affects the whole security of the Western Hemisphere and represents a situation which those responsible for its defence cannot tolerate. That is the real point at issue before us, and not, as has been pretended here, the right of a Government to take such measures as it may think necessary for its own defence. Let there be no mistake about it.

We have all studied the grave statement made by the President of the United States, and we have listened to the clear and frank speech of his representative in this Council. These statements have explained the new situation with which we are now faced and the serious turn of events which has taken place in Cuba, events which both by their very nature and by the way in which they have come about can only give rise to the deepest anxiety among the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The President of the United States explained to the world why it had proved necessary to take new measures to combat the threat which Soviet policy in Cuba now presents and why he had instructed his representative at the United Nations, in the face of this clear threat to peace and security, to request this emergency session of the Security Council and to table the draft resolution which we now have before us in document S/5182.

I do not intend to enter into past history or to add to the survey of events made by the representative of the United States. We all of us know from our own experience the tragic and terrible story which he so clearly described of agreements broken and aggressions waged by the Soviet Union. We are faced today with the most serious act of recklessness which, as the United States representative said, cannot be tolerated. The task and duty thus cast on this Council is overwhelmingly important, for the outcome of our deliberations here today will

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determine whether the peoples of the world can retain their respect in the United Nations and their faith that in the Security Council lies the ultimate hope for the preservation of peace.

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The task facing us is easily described but difficult to accomplish. Somehow we must rebuild the world envisaged by the Charter; we must re-create an atmosphere of confidence and trust between the great Powers of the world.

I would ask members of this Council to compare the frankness and clarity of the statements made by the President of the United States and his representative in this Council with two other speeches which have recently been made here in the General Assembly of the United Nations itself. I refer to the speech made by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in the General Assembly, and to the speech of the President of Cuba when he attended the Assembly with the honours accorded to a Head of State. I would like briefly to quote extracts of what they said on those occasions. The Soviet representative in this Council has already referred to them in his speech, but they are of such importance that I shall repeat them again.

First Mr. Gromyko. In that section of his speech dealing with Cuba Mr. Gromyko said the following:

"It is also stated that the United States will be prepared to attack Cuba if it believes that Cuba is building up her forces to such a degree that she can pose a threat to the United States or to the passage of the United States to the Panama Canal, or else a threat to any State of the Western Hemisphere. Any sober-minded man knows that Cuba is not pursuing either the first or the second or the third of these goals. This is fully realized by United States statesmen too. They know full well that the aid rendered by the Soviet Union to Cuba to strengthen her independence does not pursue any of these goals either, since they are alien to our foreign policy."

(A/PV.11127, page 27)

That is the Soviet Foreign Minister's public statement about the policy of the Soviet Union and of Cuba in this Western Hemisphere. And this is what the President of Cuba himself had to say in the General Assembly on Cuba's foreign policy:

"Faithful to these principles of its international policy and to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, Cuba constitutes a danger to the security of no nation whatsoever of our

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continent, nor has Cuba harboured, in the past or at the present time, any aggressive intentions against any of them. Rather have we shown the greatest and most absolute respect for the policy of non-intervention, convinced as we are, and as demonstrated by our own national history, that it is up to each and every people to decide, in its sovereignty and without the hateful interference of foreign countries, its own historic destiny." (A/PV.1145, page 46)

Later in his speech President Dorticos gave the following assurances; I quote his actual words:

"... we want peace. I repeat here we are ready to take any useful step towards the guaranteeing of peace." (Ibid., page 51)

We also heard the remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union yesterday in which he said that the American charges about the supply of offensive weapons to Cuba were false. But he did not deny, nor did the Cuban representative deny, that the Soviet Government had furnished missiles to Cuba. By no stretch even of the Soviet imagination can a nuclear missile with a range of over 2,000 miles in Cuba be called defensive.

Here I would like to bring to the Council's notice what my Secretary of State said when he spoke recently in London. After pointing out that international communism as practised by the Soviet Union today is both opportunist and two-faced, and that the Soviet Union stepped in last year in Cuba to take advantage of a situation which was already explosive, Lord Home said the following:

"By putting medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic missiles into Cuba, Russia is deliberately placing her own power in a position to do three things: to threaten the United States, to threaten the Caribbean, and beyond those two, to threaten South America. We must recognize that this is plainly an act of power.

"At a time when the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear countries is on the agenda at Geneva, Russia introduces these weapons into new places... At a time when the United Nations, actually this week, is beginning to debate this question and trying to carry on

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discussions, that is the time when the Russians do what they have not -- repeat, not -- done in Eastern Europe, that is, put their offensive weapons onto the soil of a satellite.

"There is, I fear, another aspect of Soviet policy of which we must be aware. Memory is short. But you will all remember that only eighteen months or so ago the Russians were operating a moratorium of nuclear tests. They broke that moratorium without notice, but it was plain from the scale of the tests that under the cover of the negotiations at Geneva they had been preparing this great series of nuclear tests.

"Only last week, Mr. Khrushchev instructed Mr. Gromyko to assure President Kennedy that there were no offensive weapons in Cuba and Russia had no intention of putting them there. Within a week of that statement by the architect of Soviet policy, it had been proved that those words were said only to deceive.

"At the United Nations last year I said that no genuine peace would come to the world until this double-dealing was exposed. I find it necessary to repeat that. If the world wants peace, the countries, particularly through their membership of the United Nations, must insist that these practices in double-dealing must cease and cease now. I believe that this is so fundamental to the future peace of the world because, if we continue, no one can say we cannot drift into war.

"The Americans are therefore right to let the world see plainly what is being done in secret by the Communists under their noses. Neutrality is no guarantee of safety."

That is what Lord Home said.

My country has always held that a sovereign people has the right to choose its own ideology, government and political way of life. We strongly believe too that each country has the right and duty to look to its own defence. We ourselves are members of three purely defensive alliances -- NATO, CENTO and SEATO, organizations recognized under the Charter and the purpose of which is to defend and protect the way of life and the basic freedoms in which we believe. But as we have so often repeated, these alliances are non-aggressive and threaten no one.

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~~(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)~~

We have never denied the right of the Cuban people to choose their own political regime or the right of the Cuban Government to take such defensive measures as they think necessary for their own defence. We do not dispute that a sovereign State is entitled to call for military aid from another Government. In that, the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, Cuba and the Soviet Union are all agreed. But no one can fit the installation of these missile sites in Cuba into that picture. Legitimate defences are one thing; nuclear missiles with ranges from 1,000 to over 2,000 miles are quite another. And then, add to this the fact that these weapons of mass destruction are being installed in secrecy and behind a mask of duplicity.

The President of the United States referred to the public and private assurances which he had received to the effect that the Soviet Government would never install missile bases in Cuba.

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We have all heard the Soviet Government boast that it has the capability to destroy the world. They have said that there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons for a retaliatory blow to any other country. The representative of the Soviet Union has already drawn the attention of this Council to the flaunting by his Government to the world of the fact that its rockets are so powerful that there is no need for them to search for sites beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

And yet when those very assertions were being made, when disarmament discussions are in progress here in the United Nations, when there have been conversations between the United States and Soviet Governments about limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, and when we are likely to debate this subject further in the General Assembly, at such a time plans were going forward for the supply of these very weapons of destruction to the Cuban Government.

While the Soviet Government was acting their lie, the orders were being given, plans laid and preparations being made for the supply of missiles to Cuba. Who can possibly believe in the honesty of the Soviet Government's intentions in these circumstances? Such calculated double dealing is bound to throw a sinister light on its intentions.

Let us compare for a moment dispassionately what the Soviet Government has said and what it has done. Let us compare the secretive and furtive way in which it has acted in Cuba with the open attitude of the Governments of NATO who have not attempted to hide the establishment by mutual agreement of their bases for the defense of the free world.

We are forced to conclude that these bases in Cuba are not for defensive purposes only. We are forced to believe that the Soviet Government seeks for itself some significant advantage, and when it attempts to steal this advantage in such an underhand way, the free world must alert itself to a potential threat to its security and to a grave danger to mankind.

The Foreign Secretary of my country, when speaking in the General Assembly a month ago, described the life of the international community under the shadow of the nuclear bomb. What he then said is very true today and I will repeat it:

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"There are certain lessons which I think we can learn first from the destructive power of the nuclear bomb...The first is this, and it is perhaps the overriding fact of our present situation. There is in fact today a stalemate in nuclear power and because there is a stalemate in nuclear power there is...a stalemate in power politics. It is true that it is a stalemate of fear, nevertheless it has brought us a respite from war. It may be that we only hold the peace by the balance of terror; nevertheless the peace is held, and for that at least we should be grateful." (A/PV.1134, p. 23-25)

As I have said, we can only assume that it is in this context that the Soviet Union sees advantage to itself through its latest actions in Cuba. If not, it would never have embarked by such devious means on such a dangerous course. It must hope by this advantage to increase the area of communist domination and to gain a significant military advantage in favour of the communist bloc.

I am not saying that they are right in this assessment, but what I will say is this. One of the cardinal principles upon which all our disarmament discussions have been based is that there must not be a significant change in the balance of military power, for on this balance the security of each and every one of us, including the Soviet Union, depends.

I will now return to the situation in Cuba itself. The truth is that the threat comes not from without against Cuba, but from within Cuba against its neighbours. The representatives of the Latin American countries have, as we have heard, met to discuss the situation as provided for in the Rio Treaty of 1947. These countries represent a voluntary association of freedom-loving peoples who joined together for their mutual defense and mutual benefit in an organization whose existence is recognized under the Charter. We have had read to us in this Council the text of the operative paragraphs of the resolution which they adopted with near unanimity. This resolution fully supports that tabled by the representative of the United States in this Council.

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(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

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The consensus of our Latin American colleagues is that these latest moves in Cuba do indeed represent a real threat to their security. That this is the case was put to us with solemn clarity a few minutes ago by the representative of Venezuela speaking on behalf of an entire continent. I listened to him with deep understanding and full agreement. It is the Latin American countries who are in the Western hemisphere, and it is they who are Cuba's neighbours. It is they who have the experience and the knowledge with which to judge these latest events.

We agree with their assessment. Furthermore, if they are threatened, then we are threatened too. For in this nuclear age the whole free world stands or falls together.

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My Government considers that the United States Government has acted properly by coming to the Security Council at the first possible moment. It is now for the Council to take immediate and urgent steps to deal with the situation.

The way now to restore confidence in the Western Hemisphere is for these offensive missiles to be dismantled and withdrawn. Only then can we believe the honesty of the pronouncements made by the Soviet and Cuban leaders that they have no aggressive intentions.

Let them now live up to their words and remove the threat which they have unnecessarily placed among us. Let them before it is too late withdraw these missiles which never should have been introduced. Let them consider the real interests of the Cuban people and of the world.

To quote Lord Home once again, he said yesterday:

"I hope the Russians will see in time where their policy is leading. I can promise them this: immediately she settles down to negotiate, Russia will find the most ready response from our Government. The President of the United States is clearly looking forward to the day when we can get round the table and work out solutions of all our difficulties in negotiations which are genuine."

My Government fully supports the provisions of the draft resolution (S/5182) before this Council submitted by the representative of the United States involving, as they do, a request to the Acting Secretary-General to dispatch to Cuba a United Nations observer corps to assure and report on compliance. In so doing, we urge the Governments of the Soviet Union and of Cuba to heed the appeal of all peace-loving peoples in the world.

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